/178 cont./

614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [62] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuẽ, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

● 601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one nẽi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihf. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

● 601 /179 cont./

my father	ãnc tãta	my mother	anc mãma
your father	inc tãta	your mother	inc mãma
his father	kyec néi	his mother	kyec nihĩ
our fathers	kweĩ tãta	our mothers	kweĩ mãma
their fathers	kyãñweẽ néi	their mothers	kyãñweẽ nihĩ

It is interesting that in address the foreign father or the foreign mother of the partner in conversation is called tãta or mãma, like one's own parents.

The relatives in the parents' generation, who correspond to our "uncles" and "aunts," are differentiated in address, /180/ depending on whether they are relatives in the maternal or paternal line. In the case of the female relatives in the maternal line the prefix "pe" is placed in front of the corresponding designations for the male relatives. It is also striking that for stepfather and stepmother no word combinations with "father" or "mother" are used, but rather the same words as for the father's brother and mother's sister, or the spouses of the father's sister or the mother's brother.

father's brother	nyok	father's sister	pétaots
mother's brother	ka'ka	mother's sister	pényok
stepfather	nyok	stepmother	pényok
father's sister's husband	nyok	mother's brother's wife	pényok
father-in-law	tãta	mother-in-law	mãma

[177] In the children's generation the absence of designations for nieces and nephews is noteworthy. For lack of specific Paez words and concepts, Spanish ones are used. It is possible that in pre-Spanish times the entire children's generation, either that of an extended family /Grossfamilie/ or at any rate that of the maternal or paternal line, was designated by the same name by members of the parents' generation in the manner of the "classificatory kinship

/180 cont./

60/ system." In contrast to our kinship system, which is based on the nearness of degree of blood relationship, according to the classificatory system not only one's own children are designated as "sons" or "daughters," but also those of the siblings. Correspondingly, the children -- in extreme cases -- likewise call the siblings of the parents, that is, their uncle and aunt, "father" or "mother."

The latter is not the case among the Paez, since they make a sharp distinction between the descendants of the paternal and maternal line. Within this, however, a tendency toward the classificatory system makes itself noticeable, first because of the aforementioned same name for stepfather or stepmother and father's sister's husband or mother's brother's wife, and, secondly, because of the distinction made on the basis of whether siblings are older or younger than the speaker.

The kinship designations for the children's generation are:

son, small	luč	daughter, small	luč
son, grown	ndyík	daughter, grown	nīs
brother's son (man speaking)	sobríno	brother's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína
/181/			
sister's son (man speaking)	sobríno	sister's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína
sister's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	sister's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
brother's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	brother's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
stepson	sobríno	stepdaughter	sobrína
son-in-law	nokwębió	daughter-in-law	ndõ
brother's daughter's husband	sobríno	sister's daughter's husband	sobríno
brother's son's wife	sobrína	sister's son's wife	sobrína

/181 cont./

● 601 Within one's own generation one distinguishes between older and younger brothers or sisters. In keeping with what was said about the classificatory kinship system, we have here, too, identical designations for male and female cousins and step-siblings -- differentiated according to the male or female line of the family.

brother (of husband)	yaktę́	sister (of wife)	yaktę́
brother (of wife)	nyiš́	sister (of husband)	peš́
older brother	yaktę́ nte = older)	older sister	peš́ nóite
younger brother (if other people speak of him)	yaktę́ noč́ (noč́ = younger)	younger sister (if other people speak of her)	peš́ noč́
if own brother or own sister speaks of the younger brothers	yaktę́ npéi	if siblings speak of the younger sister	peš́ npéi
father's brother's son (*)	yaktę́	mother's brother's son (*)	yaktę́
father's brother's daughter (*)	peš́	mother's brothers daughter (*)	peš́
father's sister's son (*)	yaktę́	mother's sister's son (*)	yaktę́
father's sister's daughter (*)	peš́	mother's sister's daughter (*)	peš́

* These designations for male and female cousins apply only when they are addressing each other.

/181 cont./

● 60/ In addressing persons outside the family the following designations are used:

/182/

father's brother's son or mother's brother's son	pokatenyâk
mother's brother's daughter or father's brother's daughter	pokatépényí (pokats = side)

stepbrother	yakté	stepsister	peś

The designations for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are the following:

If the brother speaks:

wife of the brother	sô'ov	husband of the sister	tsóom

If the sister speaks:

wife of the brother	tyínas	husband of the sister	sô'ov

More distant in-law relationships which in our kinship nomenclature are no longer distinguished as such are still taken into account by the Paez in the following instances:

father's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	father's sister's son's wife	sô'ov
mother's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	mother's sister's son's wife	sô'ov

In the generation of the grandparents or grandchildren, the following terms are used:

father's father	ísi	father's mother	péndyi
mother's father	ísi	mother's mother	péndyi
son's son	nzón	son's daughter	nzón
daughter's son	nzón	daughter's daughter	nzón

[192] The designations for persons at various age levels or circumstances of life are highly differentiated among the Paez; the

/182 cont./

601 192 mutual forms of address for certain groups of persons or of several persons with certain kinship connections, which show that here the individual does not stand detached within the family, but is fitted in as part of a living structure, are noteworthy.

child or boy	luč
small child (boy or girl)	lučkwe
baby (boy or girl)	lučlečkwe
youth	pftstaty
man	pftste
married man (except when his own wife speaks of him)	iyō
old man	ĭĭ
widower	ečpits
girl	gnáskwe

/183/

maiden	gnās
woman	ōi
somewhat older woman	óite
old woman	penĭ
widow	éčoi
pregnant woman	tóya
sterile woman	ema
married woman (except when her own husband is speaking of her)	imī
wife (of other men)	nyó
husband (of other women)	nemī
wife (addressed by husband)	ĭkwe
husband (addressed by wife)	ĭngya
married couple	ovényi
orphan, half-orphan	váučo
relative (general)	nuevés

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovényi or pětām
father and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pěndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of [237] the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great

/220 cont./

193 house": witóñ, "tree," wítoñléčkwe, "small tree."

193 In the case of kinship nouns, there is a prefix pe- for desig-
601 nating female relatives, for example, pétsots, "father's sister," pẽnyok, "mother's sister," "stepmother," "mother's brother's wife." Within the family a dual is designated with the prefix pe-, for example, pẽtĩm, "father /221/ and mother together," pẽndyĩk, "father and son together" or "mother and son together," pẽndyĩs, "father and daughter together" or "mother and daughter together."

193 The suffix -nas often designates a state or an activity and is used chiefly to form new words: fisnãs, "writer," ãtycatynãs, "tailor," yãsnãs, "baptizer" (name-giver), pãsnãs, "stranger, new arrival," ká'nas, "burgomaster," ndõsoknãs, "midwife," gnãs, "virgin." "To become intoxicated" is toñ, the "drunken man" tõnas, "one who is becoming intoxicated" tõnye. The forms tãtyinas, "creator," and tótenas, "gobernador," are used only in sentences. As an individual word one says tákiyi or tõtens, respectively. Possibly the ending -nas is one used only in a specific context, like the suffixes -pas and -sa, which are not infrequently encountered. In the case of adjectives, some in the positive and others in the comparative end in -nas: čačanas (strong), wac nyĩčkwenas (more beautiful), wac ẽwnas (better).

There is no general plural. For a more precise designation either a number or an indefinite pronoun is added, for example, teč, "one," or in the plural, ẽ'nzĩ, "both" (from ẽ'nz, "two"), ko, "several," tak, "many." For the plural in connection with persons the suffix -weš is used in part, for example, pĩtstewešˇ, "people," Mogweš, tribe of Guambiano, čĩ'mewešˇ, "whites" (čĩ'me=white).

There is no declension. The sentence order is generally: subject, object, predicate. The nominative is to be distinguished only by its position at the beginning of the sentence. The accusative comes after the nominative and generally before the verb.

Atya na'himbãsa vĩtepitsna óson, "I this horse this map give," ãtya tãwas tyaóinat ĩpak, "I the belt (taw) from this woman (oĩ)

/223 cont./

193 576 address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."
Older women are respectfully addressed "ikf."

193 601 you (father or mother to son): kwe

you (father or mother to daughter): íča

you (wife to husband): íngya

you (husband to wife): íkwe

you (brother to brother or sister to sister): yaktę́

you (brother to sister): pe'š

you (sister to brother): ndyíš

193 [576] you (fem.): ikf, respectful address for older women

he, she, it: kya

we (masc. and fem.): kweš

they (masc. and fem.): kyáñweš

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of [114] Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs.

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/316 cont./

105 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory"
• 601 system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has
53 taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu-
[177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world
773 emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears
776 as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America.
[784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He
[224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
' SC15 Paez SC15

193 192 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals. Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

deŋ-kuś, nephew;	*deŋ-uès*, niece.
iuś, grandfather;	*neuti*, grandmother.
e-iŭ / *ne-i* } father;	*ne-si*, mother.
ne-mi, husband;	*ne-ŭi*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-suŭ*, sister-in-law.
saŧ, cacique, chieftain;	*oŧa*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*— The prefix *pe*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

pe-uŭii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
pe-uiii, son and father, or mother and daughter.
pe-pei, to be or to go together brother and sister.
pe-tam, male and female, together.
pe-tsiŭ, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uei* or *guei*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *ueś*, or *gueś*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

piŧs, man;	*piŧs-ueś*, men.
teŭ, adult;	*teŭ-ueś*, adults.

But also

E-it-ueś kus aŧlaŧi meŋg-a? Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's hea t hot?)
father heart hot made

193 601 3. *Double Gender.* — It is interesting to find in the Paez language a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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[601]

spoken of. These nouns all have reference to parental relations:

dii, brother of a sister.
cfvi, sister of a brother.
iak-ti, elder sister of a sister.
ne-iak, younger sister of a sister.
ne-ndii, brother of a brother.
ne-tei, elder brother of a brother.
pe-ri, younger brother of a brother.

B.— *The Adjective*

As in all languages of the Chibchan group, the Paez adjectives are invariable in gender and in number. The lists at hand are poor and incomplete, but the little we have seems to show a great choice of expressions to indicate degrees or shades in the use of qualificatives.

The superlative gradation seems to be indicated only by the adverb *atla*, 'very,' placed before or after the adjective. There is apparently no way to express a comparison.

C.— *Pronouns*

Our data on this subject are also very meager, and so incomplete that we are at a loss how to give any definite explanation.

In his *Nociones gramaticales* Castillo gives a table of the personal pronouns, from which we infer that there are two forms, according to gender, for both the subjective first and second person of the singular number. From the texts given by the same author, we also deduce that all the personal pronouns are used as possessive, and those of the third person as demonstrative.

In the conjugation of verbs the subject appears to be expressed chiefly by means of a suffix.

Following is Castillo's table:

I	Masc. *anki*, *anti* Fem. *aku*	we	*kuc-k-uti*, *kuc-k-u*, *ku-k-uci*
thou (you)	Masc. *inui* Fem. *itla*	you	*in-k-uci*, *i-k-uci*
he, that	Masc. *kina*, *kiana* ?	they, those	*kina-k-uci*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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dilo + wut-kut — *Solanum mammosum*, a plant; Span. *tetilla* [192] [601]

aix + de (T) — son-in-law. See *ant-indazé*

aix + kût-kut (T) — son — Cast. has *se-tlik*; in the modern word is found the root of *a-kell*, medieval word for boy, or girl

anio + ûix (T), *pûx* (H) — the Pleiades, a constellation

ant (nasal *a*, *ã*) — may signify my, mine

ant + indazé (H) — son-in-law [601]

ant + kut (H), *ait + kut* (T) — nephew — Cast.: *doz-kut*

ant + mama (H), *mama + ixkur* (T) — maternal grandfather

ant + tãta (H), *tãta + ixkur* (T) — paternal grandfather

ant + tãta (H), *ait + kãka* (T) — father-in-law

ant + tzãn-kut (H), *a-tzãn* (T) — grandson

ant + wazak-ua (H), *ait-wakut* (T) — niece — Cast.: *doz-uet* [601]

ant + ãi (H), *ait-ãi* (T) — wife — Cast.: *se-ũ*; see *ãi*

aŋ — fly

aŋ + ûix — mosquito — (*ûix* means worm)

ãit — moon, month

ãit-katl — crescent moon

ãit-katl-a — new moon

ãit-kuxx (T) / *ãit-tuxxia* (H) — waning moon

a-tãn (T), *ant-tãn-kut* (H) — grandson — Cast.: *ne-tzom* (*tzom* = *tzãn*) [601]

ati (onomatope) — to sneeze

ati — ruana, a piece of native dress

ati + kas-uaz — tailor (*kaz* = to sew)

ati + pitl — a piece of native male dress — Cast.: (*atipetl*)

ati + tul — a piece of woman's dress

ati + kut (T) — nephew [601]

ati-ux-ut (T) — niece

ati-ãi (T) — wife; see also *ant*

ati, atãn (H) — bed — Cast. has *de-ki-ue*; *dẽ* = sleep, *ki-se* = place: a place to sleep

kamb (H) — shoulder — Cast.: *am-kamb*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192 *kā* (H) — blood

hin-se, kás-utsa — the afternoon — Cast.: *finse*

hiú, ziú (H) — trousers

hún — to grind

hún-ku-kuèt, kúl-kuet (H) — grinding-stone — Cast.: *kune kuet*

kunza — mouse — Cast.: *enza*

kūs (H) — heart — Cast.: *agnus*

kúpe (H) — fence, hedge — Cast.: *ku-find*

ku-úk (H) — death

ié-a-uès (H) — net

ié-cuχ (H), *a-cuχ* (T) — eye — Cast.: *ia-fi*

ié-cuχ + kàts (H) }
ié-χ + kats (T) } — eyelash

ief-dzi-ke (H) — tears

iáni, — volcano

[276] *iái,* — *Datura arborea*, a small tree, with large white flowers, having narcotic properties

ick-tàin (T) — brother

[601] *ick-tàin neeì-te* (T) — elder brother — Cast.: *ne-teì; 'teì* = old

ick-tàin nuti (T) — younger brother

ick-tè (H) — brother

ick-tè intè-ka (H) — elder brother

ick-tè-nuti-kua (H) — younger brother

i-kats (Cast.) — to dress (when a man dresses)

i-kats-ati, — inner piece of dress, a kind of shirt

i-kuèt (H) — knee, knee-cap

ins, — to dress (used by females only)

ins-ati, — inner part of female dress

io-its, its-io — bunch

ip, ip — light, candle — Cast.: *ip-i*

ip + e-uèla (T) — fire

ip + ié, á — smoke

ip + ik-pàts — spark

ip + imbe-zetsa (H) — fire

ip + i-fin — embers, red-hot coal

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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192 *lûl + ia, kùèt-kosi* — grinding pestle (Span. *mano de piedra*)

lûl + kutt, kunku-kuèt — grinding stone

lûl + tlik — small grinding-stone

lutî — child, male or female — Cast.: *alott*

lutî (H), *ain lutî + kua* (T) — son

lutî-küpi (T), *küpi* (H) — childbirth

lutî-uè, uè (T), *guaχ* (H) — hammock (*lutî-uè*=child-bridge)

malkχ — few, several

makènio — Tahiti plantain

[601] *máma* (H), *paini* (T) — mother

máma + señor (T), *ani + máma* — maternal grandfather

map ! — pull out !

mem — *Carica* sp., a wild pawpaw tree

méni (H) — tail

mâ — excrement — Cast.: *ime*

mâ-ain (H) — liver — Cast.: *mè-ki*

mâ-tû (H) — bowels — Cast.: *ime-tô*

mâ-uè — buzzard — Cast.: *ime-gnuei*

men-guè (H) — dysentery

mitúnχ — beverage

mótli, mutîl — a corn meal — Cast.: *mûti*

muti-hi — tobacco

mum, afid — a tree with long, broad pods (*Inga* sp.)

musè — sand

nain (H) — stomach

nâsa — Indian. According to Cast. *nâsa* means any being; at present it means people (*gens*), but applies to Indians only

[601] *nâsa + pents* (T) — grandmother — Cast.: *epentî*

nâsa + pîti-te (T) — man, Indian — Cast.: *pits*

nâsa + piχts (H) — man, Indian

nâsa + ûi (T) — woman, Indian

nâse + umâ — medicine-man, sorcerer

nâs + ma-kuie-iua — market

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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ne + enl	grandmother
ne + kl	everyone's mother (Cast.)
ne + i	father
ne + iaſi (Cast.)	first-born
ne + iak	sister of a sister
ne + iö	wife, spouse
ne + kuė-ukliö	daughter in law
ne + ml	husband, spouse
ne + ndil	brother of a brother
ne + li	mother
ne + sóu	sister in law
ne + tle	elder brother of any two
ne + tot	more powerful, also Pope (Cast.)
ne + tlik	son
ne + zom	grandson (Cast.)
ne + zon	brother-in-law (Cast.)
nete	end, earthquake
niöns, niúns (H)	needle — Cast.: *nonz*
nil	thick, stout — Cast.: *di, di-up*
paini (T), *máma* (H)	mother — Cast.: *e-pe, ne-li, ñi*
pambe + afl	part of female dress
pe	indicative of pairing, collecting, or of coming together, of two or several things or persons of the same kind
pe + fiú	to unite, to bind together
pe + kak	to collect or bring together many things
pe + ña	to increase, to add
pe + ndil	to be or to go together sister and brother
pe + nil	son and father, or son and mother
pe + nik-ue	aunt, father's sister
pe + pel	to be or to go together brother and sister
pe + tam	male and female together
pe + tsuts	mother-in-law, aunt, father's sister
pe + utsil	the fence around a grave, made of many sticks tied together
pe + tlik	son and mother, or son and father
pe + vi	younger brother
pènd + átau (H)	burial

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192 *pénl* — old, when speaking of a female — Cast.: (*e-penll*)

[601] *pénl + kuł* — old woman, grandmother

pél — sister of a brother

pél + núi-tain (T), *pél + nu-te* (H) — elder sister of a brother

pél + núll (T), *pél + nuli-kuł* (H) — younger sister of a brother

pétz (H) — sweat

pets-ǰilo — throat

pian dłán usta — half

pikas — beam

[824] *pindo* — *Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass used in making hats

pinsó — *Alnus* sp., the South American alder

piplo — bijao (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant

piplo + kniria (T), *piplo + kneia* (H) — dwarf plantain

[177] *pisko* (H), *tłpi-pi* (T) — turkey (Span.: *bimbo*, or *chumpipe*); both Paez words are derived from the Kitšua

pitłka — a variety of large tick — Cast.: *guakó*

pitá — sheep — Cast.: *kapíla*

[824] *pkind* (T), *pkind + a* (H), *pkind + a-iún* (H), *pkind + bits* (T) — guava tree (*Psidium guajava*), guava, fruit

plán (T) — plantain
plán + debth — manzana, a variety of banana
plán + d-lts — ripe plantain
plán + hák — baked plantain
plán + háts — plantain peel
plán + tskaǰ — boiled plantain

[824] *pšú* — shade — Cast.: *pnasá*

publ — *Tropaeolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

192 *tsari-i, uats tsa-eu* — burnt field (*roza quemada*)

tsam — sand

tsik (H) — collar, neck — Cast.: *tine*

tsins (H) — back

tsi-tsi-uk, tski-ua — country, native land

tskúẓ (T), *kuiẓa* (H) — boiled

tsmiẓ-me (H), *tsuá-uẓ* (T) — butterfly

tsuá-ua — *Miconia aruginosa* Naud., a shrub

[609] *tsufẓ* (H) — swelling — Cast.: *ekolè*

tsun — brother-in-law — Cast.: *ne-tsón*

tsũt — tender, edible corn — Cast.: *lipu* (Span. of Cauca: *choclo*, from the Kitšua)

tsute — *Weinmannia* sp., a small tree

tšèu (T), *tšaü* (H) — a large deer (*venado*) — Cast.: *tsarí*

tšèu + šham (T) / *tšáü + bétt-kua* (H) — a small deer

tšahú — pineapple

tšánga — *Sida* sp., a woody weed

tšán-tsa — strong (in vigor)

tse-ua-uá — *Miconia aruginosa* Rand., a bush

tsinda (H) — foot

tšinda + kàka (H) — ankle

tšinda + me-tú (H) — calf of the leg

tšinda + pil (H) — foreleg

tšinda + pop (H) — sole of the foot

tšinda + tant (H) — heel

tšinda + tsits (H) — foot-finger, toe

tši (Cast.) — *Gynerium saccharoides*, a tall grass

tšits — roof

tšits-uá (T), *tsitt-nalè* (H) — quagmire, swamp

tškás — hair — Cast.: *dikas*

tšté-tšut — dust

tšuá — hat — Cast.: *-tšuá*

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tlnáti	louse, a very large variety called *cardingano* by the Spanish natives — Cast.: *ctl-guati*
tsai (T), *dkaa-pits* (H)	husband — Cast.: *acmi*
tsuli	woman's breast — Cast.: *kiki*
tukuí-tsi	*Relbunium hypocarpium*, a plant the roots of which give a red dye
tulí (H)	plantain — Cast.: *tulí*; see also *plán*
tulí + kuk	baked plantain
tulí + kátz	plantain peel
tulí + kuiya	boiled plantain
tulí + its	ripe plantain
ting-ua (H), *tí-ue* (T)	ear — Cast.: *tigüac*
ting-ua + kafz-iaka (H)	ear-ache
ting-ua + vitz (H)	ear-lobe
ting-ui-iehi	earring
tíe-kafz (T)	vent hole
tíjta	spider
títa (H)	first
udka	crab
udla	large, high, tall — Cast.: *gula*
udn-dziáns (H)	fishhook
udse-kua (H), *guáse-ko* (T)	daughter, girl
uatz-to *uatl-ta*	tired
uá-tsa	necklace
uáll	parroquet
uesse	agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) Span. *cutacusa*
uenll	fish — Cast.: *guenudi*
uenll + patzi	a large, iguana-like lizard
uíz (H), *guáz* (T)	earthworm — Cast: *guez*
uíz + kuí	thread
uí-ue-niz (H)	voice, word
uíza	wind — Cast.: *guauma!*

8: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

601

Analysis of Kinship Terms

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktẽ).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

601
[104]

/168 cont./

Sh = the French ch (chaise); ch = the Spanish ch (chicha); j = the French j (jardin); h = the Spanish j (rojo).

c) Feminine EGO: sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (iaktḗ).

d) Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (jish).

B--First Ascendant Generation:

a) For father and mother, separate words are used (tấta and mấma). /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here./

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b) The brothers and sisters of the father and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the father of the father (grandfather) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (ñuk and pésuts, respectively).

c) The brothers and sisters of the mother and the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of the mother of the mother (grandmother) are grouped in a single category and classified as uncles and aunts (kấhka and pẽ̃uk, respectively).

C--Second Ascendant Generation:

a) One term is used for both grandfathers (ishí) and one term for both grandmothers (penshi).

b) The brothers and sisters of the grandparents, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped in a single category and classified as grandfathers and grandmothers (ishí, penshi).

D--Third Ascendant Generation:

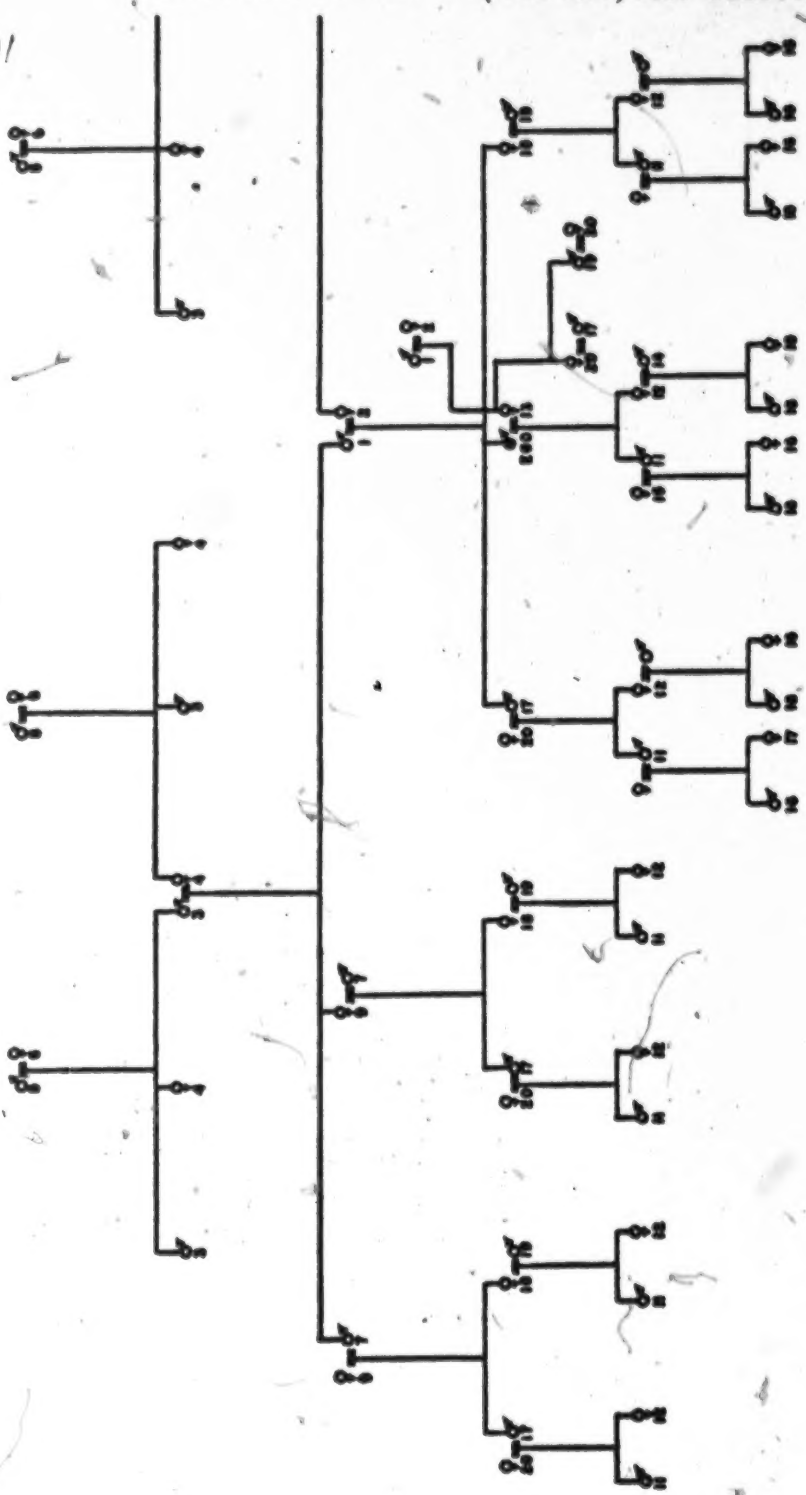
a) The great-grandfathers are designated with one term (ishí wấla) and the great-grandmothers with another one (penshi wấla).

E--First Descendent Generation:

a) The sons, the daughters, and the sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, real or classificatory, for both the paternal and maternal lines, are grouped into a single category and designated as sons and daughters (kuḗ or jik and wấsak or nis, respectively).

8: Bernal Villa --4 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

● 601



8: Vernal Villa--5 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

● 601

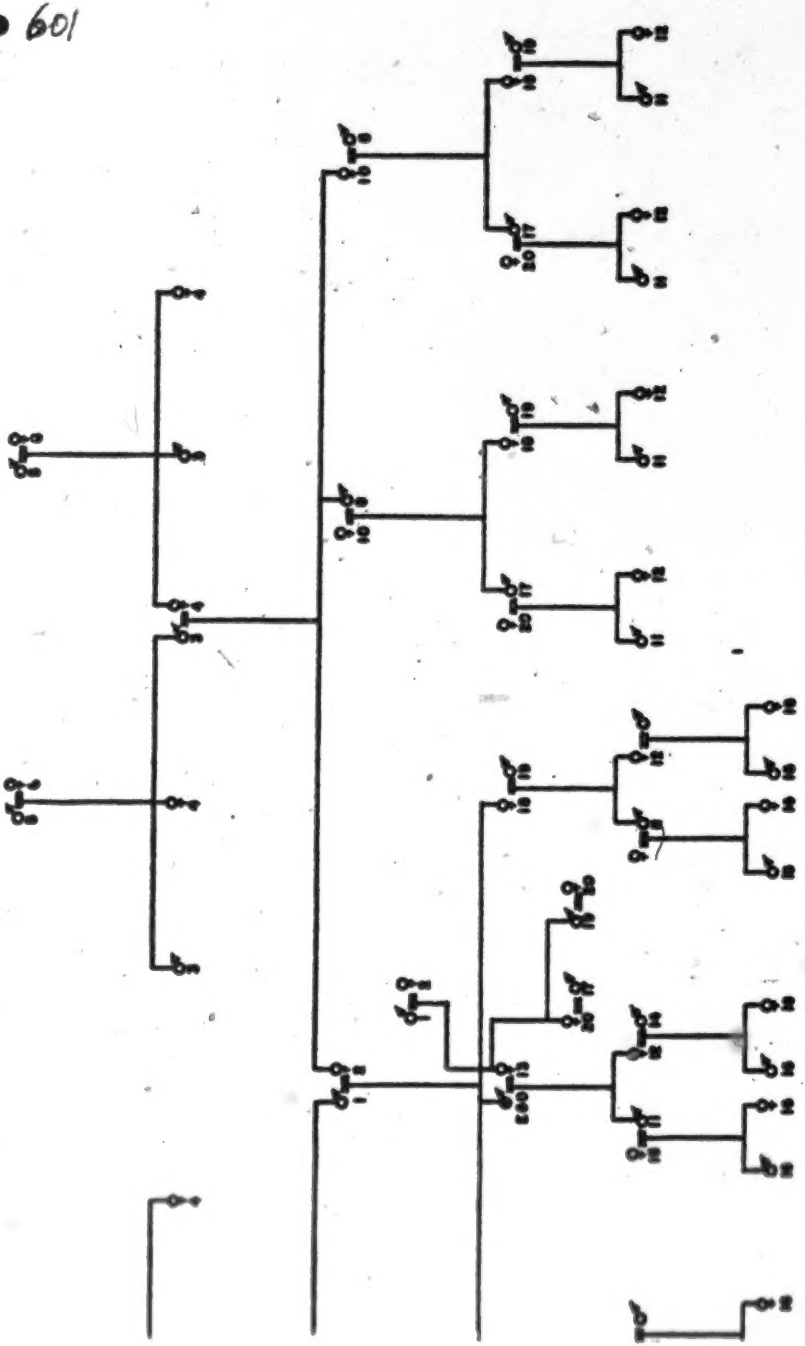


Fig. 1. Kinship, Masculine Ego.

8. Bernal Villa--6 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

60/

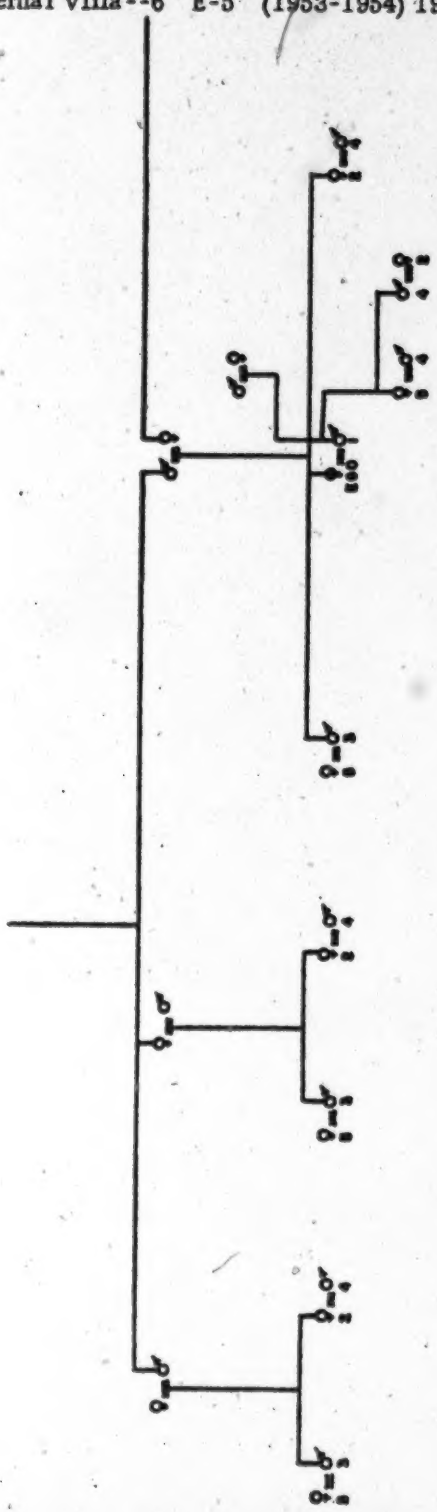


Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

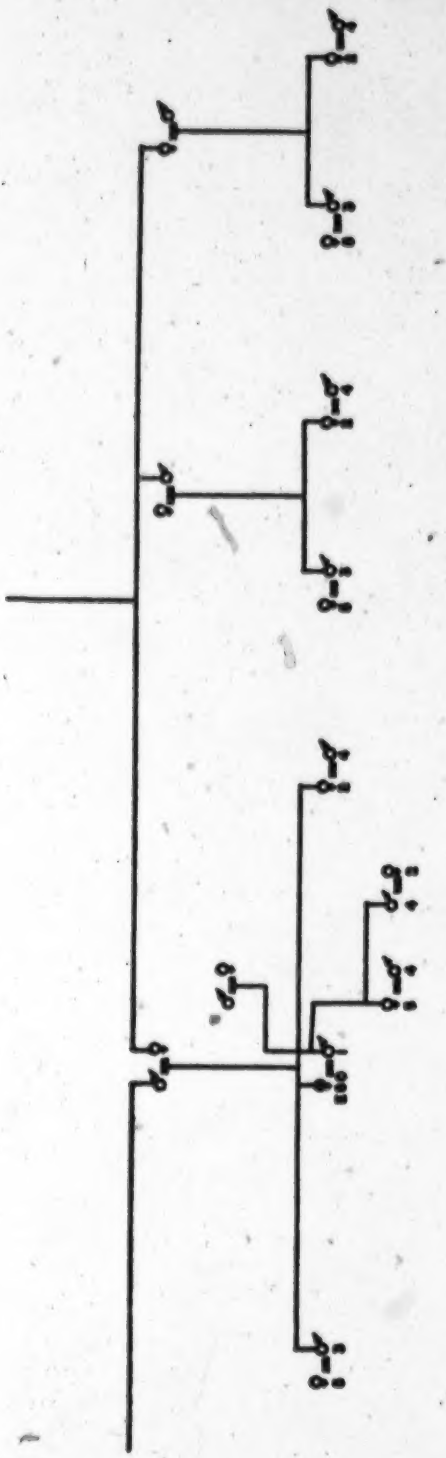


Fig. 2. Kinship, Feminine Ego.

/169 cont./

60/ F--Second Descendent Generation:

a) Sons and daughters of sons and daughters (grandchildren), the same as sons and daughters of brothers and sisters, are grouped into a single category without distinction as to sex and are designated as grandchildren (nson).

G--Third Descendent Generation:

a) The children of sons and daughters of sons and daughters (great-grandchildren) are grouped without distinction as to sex into a single category and designated with the same term used for grandchildren (nson).

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Additional Differences

1--Sex: Sex is distinguished terminologically in all generations except in the second and third descendent generation.

2--Age: For brothers and sisters, real and classificatory with respect to the relative age of EGO, it is not differentiated terminologically, although there is discrimination with regard to it in the patterns of conduct, since EGO greets those older than himself, but is himself greeted by those who are younger.

3--Kinship:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not indicate to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Feminine EGO: Brothers are not distinguished terminologically from the sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify to which line they belong.

Sisters are not distinguished terminologically from the daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, and the term with which they are designated does not specify the line to which they belong.

/170 cont./

● 60/ b) First ascendant generation:

The father and his brothers are distinguished terminologically from the brothers of the mother; the latter and her sisters are distinguished terminologically from the sisters of the former.

c) Second ascendant generation: there are no kinship distinctions.

d) First descendent generation: no kinship distinctions are made between real or classificatory sons.

In-law Relatives

1--a) Masculine EGO: The brothers of the wife, the husbands of the sisters and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sum).

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b) The sisters of the wife, the wives of the brothers, the wives of the brothers of the wife, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

c) One term is used to designate the husband of the sister of the wife. In general, the husbands of the sisters of the wife are designated among themselves with the same term that is used to designate among themselves the wives of the brothers of EGO (iaktê).

d) Feminine EGO: The brothers of the husband, the husbands of the sisters, the husbands of the sisters of the husband, and the husbands of the daughters of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (sub).

e) The sisters of the husband, the wives of the brothers, and the wives of the sons of the brothers and sisters of the parents are designated with one term (chinâs).

/171 cont./

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2--a) Father-in-law and mother-in-law are designated with separate terms (tăta, máma).

b) The husbands of the daughters and the wives of the sons are designated with different terms (ndó, nukué miyú, respectively).

Kinship Terms

[104] Abbreviations:

p = father
m = mother
hno = brother
hna = sister
ho = son
ha = daughter
co = spouse
d = of, of the

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
1 — p	*tatá*	*tatá*
2 — m	*mamá*	*mamá*
3 — p-d-p	*ishi*	*ishi*
4 — m-d-p	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
5 — p-d-m	*ishi*	*ishi*
6 — m-d-m	*pénshi*	*pénshi*
7 — p-d-p-d-p	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*

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Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
8 — m-d-p-d-p	*pénski wála*	*pénshi wála*
9 — p-d-m-d-m	*ishi wála*	*ishi wála*
10 — m-d-m-d-m	*pénshi wála*	*pénshi wála*
11 — hno-d-p	*ñuk*	*ñuk*
12 — hna-d-p	*pésuts*	*pésuts*
13 — hno-d-m	*kákka*	*kákka*
14 — hna-d-m	*péñuk*	*péñuk*
15 — hno	*iaktć*	*jish*
16 — hna	*pesh*	*iaktć*
17 — ho-d-hno-d-p	*iaktć*	*jish*
18 — ho-d-hna-d-p	*iaktć*	*jish*
19 — ha-d-hno-d-p	*pesh*	*iaktć*
20 — ha-d-hna-d-p	*pesh*	*iaktć*
21 — ho-d-hno-d-m	*iaktć*	*jish*
22 — ho-d-hna-d-m	*iaktć*	*jish*
23 — ha-d-hno-d-m	*pesh*	*iaktć*
24 — ha-d-hna-d-m	*pesh*	*iaktć*
25 — ho- (1)	*kué*	*kué*
26 — ha (2)	*wásak*	*wásak*
27 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
28 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
29 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
30 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
31 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
32 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
33 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*kué*	*kué*
34 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*wásak*	*wásak*
35 — ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
36 — ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
37 — ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
38 — ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
39 — ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
40 — ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
41 — ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*kué*	*kué*
42 — ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*wásak*	*wásak*
43 — ho-d-ho	*nson*	*nson*
44 — ha-d-ho	*nson*	*nson*
45 — ho-d-ha	*nson*	*nson*

1. Son is also designated with the term jik, but it is less used.

2. Daughter is also designated with the term nis.

Spanish	Masculine Ego	Feminine Ego
46 — ha-d-ha	nson	nson
47 — ho-d-ho-d-hna	nson	nson
48 — ha-d-ho-d-hna	nson	nson
49 — ho-d-ha-d-hna	nson	nson
50 — ha-d-ha-d-hna	nson	nson
51 — ho-d-ho-d-hno	nson	nson
52 — ha-d-ho-d-hno	nson	nson
53 — ho-d-ha-d-hno	nson	nson
54 — ha-d-ha-d-hno	nson	nson
55 — ho-d-ho-d-ho	nson	nson
56 — ha-d-ho-d-ho	nson	nson
57 — ho-d-ha-d-ho	nson	nson
58 — ha-d-ha-d-ho	nson	nson
59 — ho-d-ho-d-ha	nson	nson
60 — ha-d-ho-d-ha	nson	nson
61 — ho-d-ha-d-ha	nson	nson
62 — ha-d-ha-d-ha	nson	nson
63 — co	*niyú*	*nemí*
64 — p-d-co	*tatá*	*táta*
65 — m-d-co	*máma*	*máma*
66 — co-d-ho	*nukné niyú*	*nukné niyú*
67 — co-d-ha	*ndó*	*ndó*
68 — hno-d-co	*sun*	*sub*
69 — hna-d-co	*sub*	*chinás*
70 — co-d-hno	*sub*	*chinás*
71 — co-d-hna	*sun*	*sub*
72 — co-d-hno-d-co	*sub*	*iaktí*
73 — co-d-hna-d-co	*iaktí*	*sub*
74 — co-d-hno-d-p	*pésutz*	*pésutz*
75 — co-d-hna-d-p	*fiuk*	*fiuk*
76 — co-d-hno-d-m	*péñuk*	*péñuk*
77 — co-d-hna-d-m	*kéñku*	*kéñku*
78 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-p	*sub*	*chinás*
79 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-p	*sun*	*sub*
80 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-p	*sub*	*chinás*
81 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-p	*sun*	*sub*
82 — co-d-ho-d-hno-d-m	*sub*	*chinás*
83 — co-d-ha-d-hno-d-m	*sun*	*sub*
84 — co-d-ho-d-hna-d-m	*sub*	*chinás*
85 — co-d-ha-d-hna-d-m	*sun*	*sub*

601

Application of Kinship Terms

A--Masculine Ego (see Fig. 1)

1 — *Táta* . . . . . p; p-d-co
2 — *Náma* . . . . m; m-d-co
3 — *Ishi* . . . . . p-d-p; p-d-m; hno-d-p-d-p; hno-d-p-d-m; hno-d-m-d-m; hno-d-m-d-p.
4 — *Pénshi* . . . . m-d-p; m-d-m; hna-d-p-d-p; hna-d-m-d-m; hna-d-m-d-p; hna-d-p-d-m.
5 — *Ishi wála* . . . p-d-p-d-p; p-d-m-d-m; p-d-m-d-p; p-d-p-d-m.
6 — *Pénshi wála* . m-d-p-d-p; m-d-m-d-p; m-d-p-d-m; m-d-m-d-m.
7 — *Nuk* . . . . . hno-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hna-d-p.
8 — *Kákha* . . . hno-d-m; ho-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hna-d-m.
9 — *Pésats* . . . . hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-p-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p-d-p; co-d-hno-d-p.
10 — *Péñuk* . . . . hna-d-m; ha-d-hno-d-m-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m-d-m; co-d-hno-d-m.
11 — *Kné* (o *jik*) . ho; ho-d-hno; ho-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-ha-d-hna-d-m.
12 — *Wásak* (o *nis*) ha; ha-d-hno; ha-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-ha-d hna-d-p; ha-d-ho-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ho-d-hna-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-ha-d-hna-d-m;
13 — *Niyú* . . . . . co
14 — *Ndó* . . . . . co-d-ha
15 — *Nuknú Miyú* . co-d-ho
16 — *Nsou* . . . . .ho-d-ho; ha-d-ho; ho-d-ha; ha-d-ha; ho-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ho-d-hna; ha-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ha-d-hna; ho-d-ho-d-hno; ha-d-ho-d-hno; ho-d-ha-d-hno; ha-d-ha-d-hno.
17 — *Iakté* . . . . hno; ho-d-hno-d-p; ho-d-hna-d-p; ho-d-hno-d-m; ho-d-hna-d-m; co-d-hna-d-co.
18 — *Pesh* . . . . . hna; ha-d-hno-d-p; ha-d-hna-d-p; ha-d-hno-d-m; ha-d-hna-d-m.

601 19 — *Sun* . . . . . kno-d-co; co-do-kna; co-d-ha-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-kna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-kna-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . kna-d-co; co-d-kno-d-co; co-d-kno; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-kna-d-m.

B--Feminine Ego (see Fig. 2)

1 — *Nemi* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iakté* . . . . . kna; ha-d-kno-d-p; ha-d-kna-d-p; ha-d-kno-d-m; ha-d-kna-d-m; co-d-kno-d-co.

3 — *Jish* . . . . . kno; ho-d-kno-d-p; ho-d-kna-d-p; ho-d-kno-d-m; ho-d-kna-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . kno-d-co; co-d-kna-d-co; co-d-kna; co-d-ha-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ha-d-kna-d-p; co-d-ha-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ha-d-kna-d-m.

5 — *Chinás* . . . . kna-d-co; co-d-kno; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kna-d-p; co-d-ho-d-kno-d-m; co-d-ho-d-kna-d-m.

The remaining kinship terms are common for masculine and feminine EGO.

Additional Observations

193 601 A father, in referring to his children of both sexes, places the possessive my (anji) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Anji kué (my son); anji jikuesh (my sons).
Anji wásak (my daughter); anji wasakuesh (my daughters).
Anji nson (my grandson); anji nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

A mother, in referring to her children of both sexes, places the possessive my (uk) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Uk kué (my son); uk kuémuesh (my sons).
Uk wásak (my daughter); uk wásakuesh (my daughters).
Uk nson (my grandson); uk nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

/175 cont./

193 In like manner, the children, in referring to their
● 601 parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí tẽwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

/176/

557 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wãla.
576 When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and
609 that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakuẽ (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakuẽ (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakuẽ wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
● 601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,